5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

subsistence shifting agriculture alone. This leaves hardly any margin for land unsuitable for cultivation, for bush land needed as a source of building materials etc., or for unequal distribution of land as between families.

We may divide the land occupied by Orokaiva into two broad sub-regions. The first is made up of the foothills themselves which have an 8 to 12 inch very dark brown top soil, rich in nitrogen and phosphorus. The fine-textured subsoils range from 10 to 22 inches in depth. This sub-region coincides approximately with the Saiho census division which had a population of 8,211 in 1966 giving a density of about 55 per sq. mile. The second sub-region, situated to the north and east of the first, consists of poorly drained but readily improvable plains. Here the population is very much sparser. Most village domains contain only a fraction of immediately utilisable good cultivation land and even this does not have the special fertility of the volcanic loam on the mountain slopes. The soils of Inoda, a village situated in this sub-region, have been discussed in much detail by Crocombe and Hogbin 1963, quoting the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (C.S.I.R.O. [1954]). This sub-region forms part of the Sohe-Popondetta census division which, as a whole, has a population density of about 20 per sq. mile. Villages are smaller and more dispersed.

The boundaries of what we may call the Orokaiva tribal area are probably best determined by the criteria used by the Papuans themselves, namely linguistic criteria. Orokaiva is part of the Binandere group of eight languages (see Wurm 1960) spoken in most of the more densely populated parts of the Northern District; of these languages, Orokaiva is spoken by the greatest number, but only about half the population in the Ovokaiva-Binandere area. The only language of this group for which a reasonably full description (grammar and dictionary) has been published is Binandere (Copland King 1927), a language spoken around the lower part of the Mambare and Gira rivers. Other languages of this group are: Orokaiva, Notu, Aiga, Huniara, Yema, Taindaware. While there are considerable vocabularly differences between these languages, there is a close resemblance in grammar and enough resemblance in vocabularly to make a very limited degree of intercommunication possible. (Chinnery and Beaver 1916 and an unpublished manuscript by Capell [n.d.]). We do not know much more about the Binandere group of languages except that it is a Papuan grouping (Grace 1968).

It seems to me that dialect divisions within the Orokaiva language area which have been noted at various times (Beaver 1916, Williams 1930) are rather minor. A fairly accurate idea of the boundaries of the Orokaiva language area may be obtained by identifying this area with the district administered by the Higaturu Local Government Council which covers the Saiho and most of the Sohe-Popondetta census divisions.

Williams (1930: 157–9) attempts to distinguish the Orokaiva language speakers from other tribal groupings by listing cultural differences (notably in dress and ornaments) but these are not pronounced and, under modern conditions, may be observed only on ceremonial occasions when headgear and bark-cloth are worn.

Prior to European contact, the normal mode of settlement was in hamlets containing 6 to 12 houses and surrounded by land used for shifting agriculture.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18]

TABLE II/2

POPULATION BY AGE, SEX, MARITAL STATUS AND CLAN

(a) *Comparison Between Inonda and Strepe, 1951 and 1966*

	Inonda		*Strepe* 1966				
	1966	1951	*Sorovi*	*Seho*	*Jegase*	*Total*	1951
Male Adults (Total)	10	5	6	8	14	28	15
Widowers	2		1	–	2	3	
Married, residing with wife	7		5	7	8	20	
Single	1		–	1	4	5	
Female Adults	10	8	5	11	18	34	25
Widows	2		–	1	3	4	
Married, residing with husband	7		5	7	8	20	
Single or living without husband	1		–	3	7	10	
Children	22	35	15	27	33	75	59
Total	42	48	26	46	65	137	99

(b) *Strepe male adults, by clans and age groups*

Age Groups	*Sorovi*	*Seho*	*Jegase*	*Total*
16–25	–	1	3	4
26–35	2	–	2	4
36–45	2	2	4	8
46–55	1	5	1	7
Over 55	1	–	4	5
Total	6	8	14	28

Note: For the purpose of this table, I have included entire households with the clan of the household heads. The breakdown of female population into clans must be understood as meaning: 'Attached to a household of Sorovi, Seho or Jegase clan'.

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

Though Monckton reports (1921) a few large villages in the early post-contact period, it is only recently, in response to Australian pressure, that multi-clan villages, with populations ranging from 100 to 500, have become common. Most of the plantations found in the Northern district have been established by Australian ex-servicemen supported by government loans. A number of Orokaiva have been drawn to work on these plantations, others to jobs in Popondetta, others again to service with the police, the armed forces or employers outside the district. Such migration has substantially reduced the proportion of the male village population group.[2]

2. *Technology and Aesthetics*

We possess only the briefest description of Orokaiva industry (in Williams 1930). Although I did collect additional data, the traditional technology has been transformed to such an extent that my data must needs be fragmentary. The only axes and adzes now in use are made of steel; most of the various stone-made cutting tools described by Williams are no longer in use, being replaced by the ubiquitous bush knife wielded by young and old, male and female. One exception is worth noting, if only to emphasise an element of continuity: cockle shells are still used for the scraping of coconuts and for the shaping and decorating of pots. Most of the needles used by women are still made of flying fox bones (*poma*), even though a few needles have at times been obtained from the Mission. While files for sharpening tools are necessarily made of steel, rough leaves still serve as tools for scraping pots, smoothing down wood, etc. The same mixture in the use of basic tools is found in agriculture, hunting, and fishing: we still find the digging stick but also the axe; traditional hand nets and fishing spears (with steel tips), but also snorkels. For hunting, traditional devices have been almost entirely replaced by the shot gun. The old technology is still basically intact in those few industries which are directly related to ceremonial life: the making and decorating of loin cloths, feather headdresses, ceremonial weaponry, musical instruments such as drums. Certain other specifically feminine artifacts (mats, baskets, string bags) are still produced and in use, while much of the contemporary Orokaiva house-building technology is traditional, Fine wickerwork for ceremonial objects (armlets, spear decorations, etc.) is still made by some of the older men. Orokaiva women have almost stopped making pots, though this was an important industry in pre-contact times. While trade goods are used for everyday purposes, such pots as are still made serve as gifts to women at the time of marriage. They are kept for sentimental reasons, but we were able to see only very few.

An everyday Orokaiva meal consists of taro, often with a few vegetable condiments: coconut milk, cordyline tips, or edible pitpit,[3] or one of a number of herbs, sometimes of supposed medicinal value. Much care is devoted to the cooking of the taro and variety is provided partly by a choice from many varieties of taro growing in most gardens. In the dry season, any of a number of subsidiary foods (sweet potato, German taro, yam, banana, breadfruit and several others) may be added to make the taro stretch further. Meat or fish is eaten only rarely, usually on festive occasions. Foods like tea, sugar, bread and salt are also reserved for such occasions. Although several traditional methods of

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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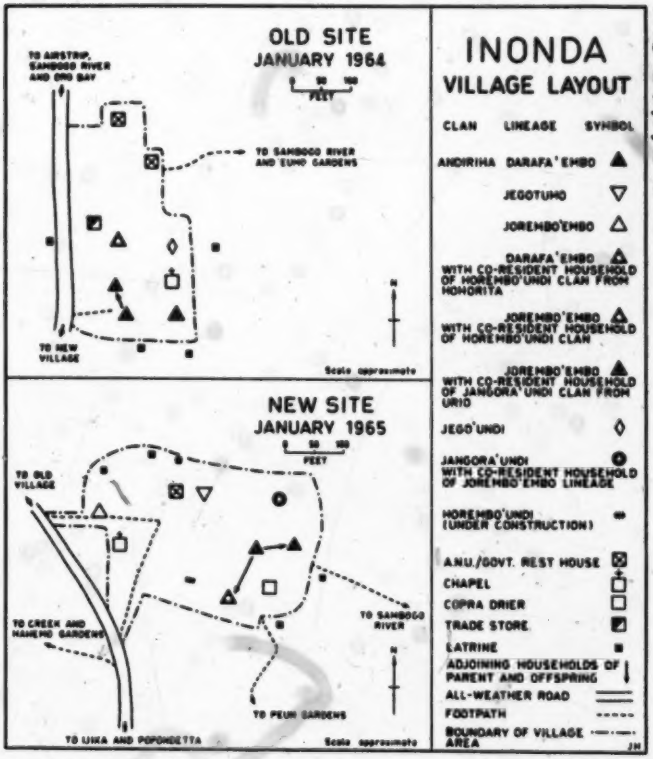

Fig. 4. Inonda village layout.

The leader, a government driver, earned about 65 per cent of the total cash income of the whole village, not only in wages but also through various enterprises on the side. He was the lay preacher as well. The only limit to his influence was the unwillingness of the pagan faction to become involved in 'modern' activities of which he was the champion. 105 622 177

Ecologically, Inonda is characteristic of the alluvial plains region to the east of the mountain. It lies between 200 and 300 feet above sea level, and has a comparatively low rain-fall and long dry periods. Its population density is low: 42 people on a village domain of 2850 acres (less than 10 per square mile). The best Inonda land is 580 acres of coarse-textured recent riverine deposits, covered with forest or regrowth and lying beside the Sambogo and Girua rivers. 133 132 161 162 134 137

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

Sivepe has twenty-four dwelling houses and a population of 137. The two politically dominant clans are Jegase and Seho, but some families from the Sorovi clan had not long ago migrated to Sivepe from a neighbouring village (Garombi). Sivepe had been shifted recently to the present site so that decorative borders were not yet established, though such improvements were started during my stay. It was planned that the village would be rectangular in shape, with two long facing rows, as in Hohorita and Inonda, but a third row, supposedly temporary, had been established on the hill behind the planned site. In other respects, however, the same standard of village layout had been followed. The houses were roomier than in the other villages and had walls of horizontally laid shingles, an innovation of which the villagers were rather proud. 105

Sivepe has no chapel, but the Anglican mission station is less than a quarter of a mile away from the village. The school conducted on the station is one of the best in the Northern District; it teaches up to grade six and many of its students qualify for admission to secondary schools. The station also maintains a small field hospital, with a Papuan assistant medical officer in charge. For more serious cases the large government hospital at Saiho was used, a facility serving the whole of the Northern District, but in practice out of reach of distant villages like Inonda. Hohorita people, however, use it frequently.

Sivepe has been Christianised only very recently. There were no baptisms until after the eruption and the Seho clan did not join the Church until about 1963. Today very few pagans are left and they do not form a political or other faction. Leadership is shared between several strong personalities. Sivepe lacks residents who stand out by superior wealth or European education, but is rather more homogeneous in that respect than either of the two other villages. Money comes mainly from coffee and from remittances sent by relatives working outside the village.

Sivepe, like most of the Sasembata-Sohu valley, has an extremely dense population – about 180 per sq. mile. 161

REFERENCES

1 Brookfield uses the Klingebiel and Montgomery (1961) classification of land which distinguishes land areas by the degree of limitation to land use imposed by geographical conditions. Limitations may be due to terrain, lithology, soil, or climate. A large territory surrounding Mount Lamington falls in classes I to III (which means it is suitable for cultivation with a mild degree of limitation), as contrasted with most of the rest of New Guinea, where the limitations are much greater. 133 134

2 Figs. 1 and 2 give a general impression of the geography of the district: land systems, natural features, settlements roads, tribal areas, etc. Table II/1 shows the distribution of population in the Northern District of Papua. Table II/2 shows the age breakdown of the population in Sivepe and Inonda. Table II/10 shows rather strikingly how suddenly labour migration began: the men of the Seho clan of Sivepe were just a little too old to have been involved, but the Jegase clan, whose members were slightly younger, mostly spent some time on jobs outside the village before or shortly after marriage. 167 164 162

3 Orokaiva: *ina*; botanical: *saccharum edule*. 262

423 obstacles,[1] but the policy of registering villagers' land was being implemented at the time of our surveys.

121 Inonda and Sivepe alike had experience with their council's registration scheme. The principal reason for working with these villages in particular is that they may be regarded as typical of two extremes among local communities in the council area. The following conspicuous variation was taken into account, in view of the need to investigate the relation of local conditions and problems to economic change in general and to the council's tenure scheme in particular.

161 Sivepe is located in the Saiho Census Division which has an overall population density of 75 persons per square mile, but there are local concentrations of much higher density, for example, 237 persons per square mile at Sivepe;[2] the density of the Saiho Division is the highest in the Northern District and the third highest among the rural census divisions in Papua,[3] but does not approach the densities found in several places in the New Guinea Highlands.[4] The density of the Buna Census Division where Inonda is situated is about 8 persons per square mile, the lowest among the Orokaiva.

133 The average size of Saiho villages is about 175 persons, compared with an average of 100 in the Buna Census Division. The
132 Sivepe people live on the highly fertile slopes of Mt Lamington, receiving an annual rainfall of about 160 inches; Inonda's land
131 is lower, flatter and comparatively poor and receives about 95 inches a year. Inonda is 11 miles from Popondetta on the road to Oro Bay and Sivepe is roughly twice as far from the township, along a road leading inland.

101 For brevity we will speak of the 'mountain Orokaiva' as an
[133] alternative to 'Mount Lamington Orokaiva'. (See Keesing 1951:5-6.)
[162] This group, we believe, was the largest socio-political unit, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

[1] For an account of the developments of the registration scheme see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:89-93.

[2] Population is over 8,000 and there are 8.6 acres available per head in the census division. The personal opinion of at least some local officers has been that local densities of 200, and more, persons per square mile are not at all rare in the division.

[3] After Kaipi, Gulf District and Kuboma, Milne Bay District.

[4] However, Keesing (1951:2) maintained that these Orokaiva on the Mt Lamington slopes achieved 'perhaps the densest settlement patterns of any of the shifting "dry" cultivators in the New Guinea area'.

[10] tribe, which included Sivepe. It occupied the volcanic slopes
[133] under fairly uniform and distinctive ecological conditions. The
[162] mountain Orokaiva now include roughly the 8,000 people in the closely-settled Saiho Census Division areas, that is, the people who have been called 'Wasida' or 'Periho'. They also include the members of the few adjacent villages who are the only 'Sangara' people surviving the 1951 eruption of the volcano.

[62] Belshaw (1951:2) reported that among the mountain Orokaiva
[36] until 1951 'the residential group...consisted of a number of separated hamlets.... Hamlets grouped themselves together under a common name, such as Wasita 1, Isivita 1, Isivita 2 etc.... Each hamlet group, or "village" in administrative parlance, was separated geographically from its neighbouring hamlet group'. The two 'villages', Isivita 1 and 2, had comprised 19 named 'hamlets' and represented the Isivita 'native district' which, Plant[1] (1951: Appendix 4) says was joined with the Sasembata (8 hamlets), Koropata, Wasita, Awala, Soroputa, Sairopi, Mumuni and Wairopi districts[2] to form the Periho tribe. This 'closely approximates to' what Williams called the Wasida tribe.

[162] Shortly before the eruption of Mt Lamington in 1951, Sivepe, Binduta, Mahihita, Pusahambo, Korinasusu and Heherita[3] were grouped under the name of Awala 2 and had a total population of 250,[4] compared with the range of 150 to 400 which Belshaw (1951:2) attributes to 'hamlet groups' in the area. There is a radical difference in size between the small hamlet described by Belshaw and the characteristic nucleated village of post-eruption years (excluding interim evacuation 'camps'). Nevertheless, we hereafter refer to both as a 'village' when not quoting. This does not

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[1] Plant uses the term 'village group' for Belshaw's 'hamlet group' or 'village'. Williams (1930:131) refers to Belshaw's 'hamlet' sometimes as a 'village' and sometimes as a 'village group'.

[2] He earlier (1951:3) omitted Mumuni and Wairopi - see p.31. On Map 1 see Hururuta for Mumuni District, and Ombisusu-Ajeka area for Wairopi District; the Sairopi people are about 4 miles south of the Mumuni.

[3] The last 3 'hamlets' were not re-formed after the eruption; another which was established about this time took the name Awala No.2.

[4] In a sample of 50 nearby hamlets in other groups in the Saiho Census Division the average hamlet size was 36 persons as against 41 in this group. Note also that in 1923 the Awala hamlets (including those in Awala 1) may have numbered 15 (Williams:W.83).

C2| obscure any important differences in structure and our historical
36| data are not complete enough to permit of consistent distinctions,
[162] according to size, between 'hamlets' and 'villages'. The village
[632] of Sivepo now has a population of 120 and is linked with Binduta, several hundred yards away, and with Wahihita half a mile away, to form a unit in Administration censuses. The 3 villages, together with Awala No.2,[1] form a local government council electorate.

13| Sivepo is situated on the western bank of the Sohu River, a
49| tributary of the Kumusi River, about 25 miles by road south-west
[133] of Popondetta and roughly 7 miles north-west of the crater of Mt Lamington. It is on a jeep road leading from Kendata, high on the Mt Lamington slopes, to Awala, which lies 3½ miles north of Sivepo on the Kokoda-Popondetta road. The minor road was constructed in about 1944 following the route of an old track. Between Awala and Sivepo it is marked by the sites of 9 abandoned villages, first visible indication of the history of close settlement on the country it traverses.

797| There were very few facilities for formal education in this
871| tribal area until shortly after the second world war when a number of mission schools, staffed by Papuan teachers, were established through the area and 'minor elementary education was brought to over 90% of children of a varied age range' (Belshaw 1951:2).

An Anglican Mission primary school was established at Sasembata, 1 mile south of Sivepo, in 1945 and a European teacher has been on the staff since 1951; 9 of the 13 children of approximately school age in the group we studied now attend.[2] Some children from Sivepo are pupils at Martyrs' Anglican Mission school several miles away at Agenahambo. A primary T school[3] was established at Awala in 1961 but no Sivepo children are pupils there.

Several villagers regularly attend the church at Sasembata, which is in the charge of a Papuan priest, and most make periodic use of the medical services provided by the mission sister. Some women consult an infant welfare clinic formerly available at the mission on alternate Tuesdays and some have joined a women's sewing class held on Wednesdays.

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[1] To be distinguished from Awala 2, the 'hamlet group'.

[2] The ages of pupils in the 4 grades would range roughly from 5 to 15 years.

[3] A government school for Papuans at which the curriculum is adjusted to the needs or sophistication of the local pupils - as distinct from primary A schools, attended almost wholly by European children, where the syllabus is set by the N.S.W. Department of Education.

428 before establishing a household. The older brother should in time provide the other with an equitable share of the land.

There is no system of primogeniture in theory or practice.[1] In one case, however, a childless man, who was adopted into the local branch of Jegase clan and has also married a Jegase woman, either has bequeathed his land to the leader of his wife's lineage who allocated it to his second son, or he has himself bequeathed it specifically to the boy (who was given his wife's deceased brother's name). Most of the patrimonial land and some land held by the woman are to be inherited by the elder son.

241 Turning to the extent of landholding, the 12 households studied hold 138 acres near Sivepo or 2.7 acres per head, all of it arable with the exception of little more than 1 or 2 per cent.[2] Some members claim to retain land in relatively distant areas where they or their forefathers originally lived. In cases where the Sivepo people had not exercised their rights to cultivate these land claims, no estimate of their size was made.

b. The history of local settlement

177 The territory of the mountain Orokaiva was opened up when a new road from Buna to the Yodda Valley goldfields near Kokoda was built in 1904. In this part of Orokaiva country individual tribes were not as isolated as elsewhere. Although the various tribes were initially described as being constantly warring, and likely to attack government parties,[3] peace was secure within 4 years. [121] Intertribal feuds were effectively suppressed, except for an occasional raid prompted by the docility of neighbouring tribes under the novel conditions brought about by the arrival of the [166] Europeans. Many tribes, including the 'Wasida', were able to settle on their outlying lands which formerly they had not occupied for fear of raids.

[464] Many of the people worked on the construction of the road, and later as carriers; by 1909 some had signed on for labour elsewhere

[184] [1] In this way, the mountain Orokaiva differ from at least one other Orokaiva tribe, the Yega at Beporo (R. Dakeyne: personal communication).

[162] [2] This density is the equivalent of 237 persons per square mile (cf. 300-500 per square mile for Southern Chimbu, Brown and Brookfield 1959:74). The Saiho Census Division, on the other hand, has only about 75 persons per square mile; however, as Map 2 indicates, it includes extensive areas of unoccupied and generally unused rainforest surrounding the concentration of populations with higher densities and separating them from their former enemies. Some of the land of the thousands of Kombu Sangara killed in 1951 also appears to fall inside the Saiho boundaries.

[3] See Territory of Papua 1903-4:39; ibid. 1904-5:14, 36.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 41]

The social setting

(a) Population and settlement (see Table 1:2 and Map 2)

The indigenous population of the sub-district totals some 36,500 people of whom 26,500 are Orokaiva and occupy the central lowland area. There are, in addition, an estimated 1,100 indigenes from other parts of Papua-New Guinea, either employed by the Administration or European planters (as contract labour) or operating smallholdings under a land settlement scheme. The European population of 495 persons falls into five major categories: Administration, Anglican mission, army, commercial and plantation. Most live in the district headquarters of Popondetta (population 600) and, like the indigenes from other districts, apart from indigenous Orokaiva settlement.

Table 1:2

Popondetta sub-district: population in ethnic groups by location and occupation (1965 estimates)

	Ethnic group		
	Indigenous*	Asiatic	European
Location			
Popondetta township	300	13	300
Rest of sub-district	36,161**	0	182
Total	36,461	13	482
Occupation***			
Administration	n.a.†	0	160
Anglican mission	"	0	79
Army (PWD)	"	0	68
Commerce	"	13	60
Plantation/settlement work	261	0	115
Plantation labour	1,813††	0	0
Urban wage labour force	300	0	0
Sub-total	2,374	13	482
Subsistence farmers	34,087	0	0
Total	36,461	13	482

* Includes Orokaiva and other indigenes from Popondetta and other sub-districts.

** 26,500 Orokaiva, 9,000 other local indigenes and 661 indigenes from other sub-districts.

*** Includes dependants.

† Not available

†† 600 from other sub-districts.

Source: DDA, Popondetta.

The Orokaiva comprise a number of groups, with mutually intelligible dialects and a high degree of cultural uniformity, extending some sixty miles northwards from the Hydrographers Range and from the coast inland to the foothills of the Owen Stanleys. The overall population density is only 9.1 persons per square mile but the distribution is highly uneven (see Table 1.3) with major concentrations on the fertile northern slopes of Mt Lamington (63.8 persons per square miles in the Saiho census division) and the coastal periphery (62.2 in Gona census division). The grassland and more northerly forest areas are only sparsely populated.

Table 1:3

Popondetta sub-district: demographic characteristics of selected census divisions, 1963

	Crude population density (persons per square mile)	Cultivable acres per head	Mean size of settlement
Saiho	63.8	9	216
Gona	62.2	6	221
Oro Bay	43.6	9	103
Sangara	26.7	9	197
Popondetta	17.2	19	109
Tegulau	16.9	25	146
Asigi	9.1	53	87
Buna	8.4	31	94
Huhurindi	6.7	53	69

Source: Population data derived from DDA 1963 census data (1961 Popondetta, 1962 Saiho).

Small villages are the characteristic unit of settlement, with houses disposed in a more or less rectangular form around a central earth or grass 'square'. Their size varies in relation to overall population density, but nowhere exceeds 720 persons,[1] the mean being 144 persons. The social organisation and economy of the Orokaiva contribute to considerable instability in settlements, both in composition and site.

A village normally contains more than one clan branch[2] and consequently is not necessarily a landholding unit. Its members may have closer ties of kinship with residents of other villages than

[1] Kiorota village in Saiho census division.

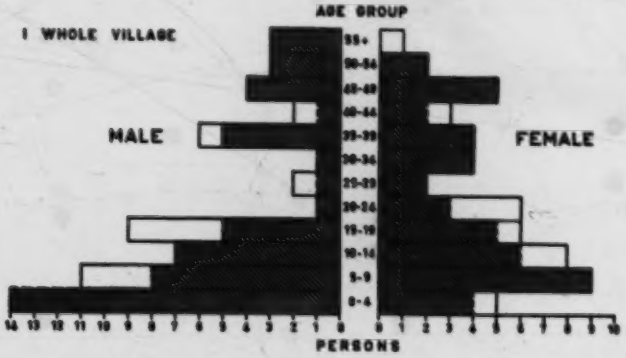
[2] See p.10.

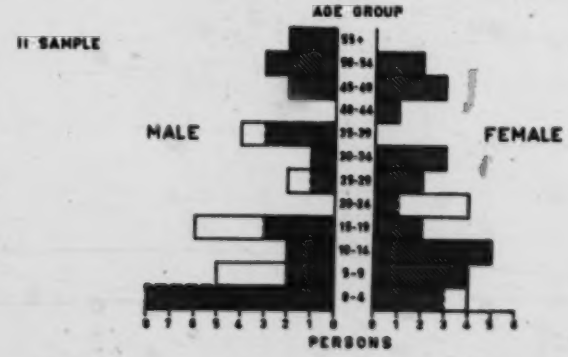
FIGURE 4:1

162

SIVEPE: AGE-SEX STRUCTURE

SHOWING NET CHANGES JANUARY 1964 TO JANUARY 1965





POPULATION AT JANUARY 1964 POPULATION AT JANUARY 1965

36 Like Sivepe, both sites of Inonda were laid out as line villages.
62 Here the tendency for grouping of kin is more marked but still not
342 rigid (see Map 6). The houses, with a mean size of 282 sq ft, are built largely of local materials, but incorporate some exotic items including nails, and, in certain cases, corrugated iron roofing from nearby wartime dumps. In addition to the residences, there is a rest-house, a copra-drier, a small trade store and a chapel. Brief weekly services are held by a villager who was once a mission teacher and who also owns the store.

162 In January 1964, the resident population of the village was 35, with 16 adults, a drop of seven since the time of Crocombe and Hogbin's survey (1963:58). The nine households had an average of 3.9 individuals or 1.8 labour units. No births or deaths occurred during the survey but there were three arrivals and seven departures giving a total of 31 people, including 16 adults, in January 1965.
166 In addition, several people from other villages stayed temporarily with kinsmen in Inonda. At first, there were two local clan branches in Inonda, the Andirihaha and the Jego'undi, the latter being represented by a single family.[1] When the village moved in 1964 the Jego'undi man, having virtually no rights to land near the new site, decided to move instead to the nearby village of Mosou, which is built on his land. He, his wife and four daughters were from this point (July 1964) excluded from the daily interviews, which explains the most prominent change, namely the loss of female children, in the age-sex structure diagram (Fig.4:2).[2] In contrast with Fig. 4:1 for Sivepe, Fig.4:2 shows neither males nor females in the 15 to 19 years age group; the largest concentration of adult males is in the 20 to 24 years group, where Sivepe has none. The proportion of long-term absentee adult males was 16.6 per cent in January 1964 (i.e. two out of twelve) and 25 per cent in 1965, the rise being due to the departure of the Jego'undi man. One absentee is normally resident in Port Moresby and seems unlikely to return except on retirement; the other, his brother, lives less than three miles from Inonda at Ijika near Hohota, which is his widowed mother's village, and he constantly asserts his intention to return to Inonda.[2]

62 The major agnatic links of the Andirihaha people are with Hohota, but extend to Kakandetta and Hanakiro, ten miles away, while

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[1] A third local clan branch, the Horemba'undi, is represented in Inonda by a single household, which is resident through affinal ties and it has no right to Inonda lands, although it is allowed to make food gardens there.

[2] i.e. two of the three 'absentees' continue to reside in subsistence villages, unlike the Sivepe absentees who are all in, or seeking, full-time wage employment elsewhere.

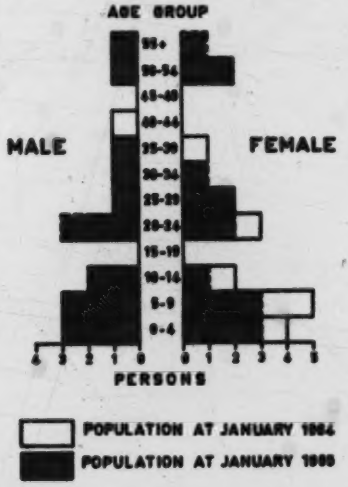
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

A,[See Category 162, p.55--Analyst] B,[See Category 162, p.39--Analyst]

FIGURE 4:2

0162 **INONDA: AGE-SEX STRUCTURE**

SHOWING NET CHANGES JANUARY 1964-JANUARY 1965



GZ1 non-agnatic ties have led to close relationships with people in Ajoro, Sewa, Mosou, Urio, Jonita and Hohorita.

463 As in Sivepe, most of the men have had labouring jobs and two had also been teachers for the Anglican mission - one for 27 years, the other for 6 years, including 4 in New Britain.

871 Three household heads, all over 40 years of age, have had no education. One household head and one woman reached standard V and the woman's husband completed standard IV. Two young men, one a household head, served as farmer trainees at Popondetta Agricultural Station, and another completed eleven months of the course at the aid post orderly training school at Saiho.

554 In addition to his six years with the Anglican mission, one of the ex-teachers, a man of 35, was for two years local government

164 man-hours were absorbed by clinic visits and related public health activities. So, grouping all three categories together, sickness 404 accounts for almost 7 per cent of potential activity time. 734

In analysing the 212.4 man-days spent inactive, Fig.6:1 indicates that 26 per cent fell during two weeks in period I when an influenza epidemic swept the area. It is during the latter part of the wet season that sickness reaches its most serious proportions, accounting for 7 per cent of potential activity time. Malaria, being endemic, is the most common cause along with other parasitic diseases of a debilitating nature; hence the seasonal pattern.

Table 6:3

Sivepe: incidence of sickness according to sex, age and cash cropping status

	Sex		Age				Cash cropping status	
	M	F	15-24	25-34	35-44	45+	Yes	No
Percentage of days sick to total survey days	5.1	4.2	2.3	2.0	1.5	8.3	1.8	8.8

Table 6:3 shows that the older people suffer most and also that non-cash croppers spend a significantly higher proportion of their [162] time sick than cash croppers. While this is largely because the heads of non-cash cropping households are, on average, older than the others[1] it may well be that the non-cash croppers, lacking the initiative of the others, more readily assume the sick role.

512 Temporary absences apart, 4,990 man-days were spent in Sivepe, and during this time the villagers' activities occupied 28,975 hours, or 5.8 hours per man-day. Furthermore, virtually all these activities, except hunting, certain social activities and, occasionally, house construction, were confined to the daylight hours.

Patterns of activity and seasonal influences

512 The adult residents of Sivepe are active, on average, 40.6 hours 433 per man-week, although, as Fig.6:2 demonstrates, there is a sub- 241 stantial variation from week to week. The actual range during the observed period was 34.4 to 51.3 man-hours.

[1] Of the 11 households resident throughout the survey the heads of the non-cash cropping ones are all in the 45+ age bracket while only 2 of the 7 cash cropping ones are.

Table 2

Ages of blockholders in the Yega Scheme compared to other Yega men of working age

Age grouping	Men with cocoa block		Men without cocoa block		Men working away from villages	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Under 30	7	15	13	20	53	62
Over 30 and under 40	16	35	17	26	23	27
Over 40 and under 50	17	37	17	26	6	7
Over 50	6	13	18	28	3	4
Total	46	100	65	100	85	100

Note. Ages are in most cases estimates and for the last category estimates by informants.

Table 2 indicates that, of the 46 cocoa blocks in the Yega Scheme, 33 (or 72 per cent) were held by men aged 30 to 50, slightly more than half of whom were over 40. Only 28 per cent of the persons allocated blocks were either under 30 or over 50 but nearly half the persons not allocated blocks were in these groups. The larger number of old men without blocks is understandable. They had few needs other than food and betel nut and the cost of small luxuries like sugar and rice could usually be provided by their sons. On the other hand, there was a very strong desire to obtain cocoa blocks on the part of middle-aged men who did not yet have them. There were few men aged 40 years or over working away from the village, though most of them had been away during their youth. The table emphasizes the distinct preference of young Yega men to work for wages away from home rather than to remain in the village: 89 per cent of the men working away from the village were under 40. Other data showed that 79 per cent of all bachelors over 16 years of age were working away from home or had recently returned from wage employment.

In addition to their earnings from cocoa production, Yega villagers had four sources of income.

i. Exchanging surplus agricultural produce with the mission, which gave tobacco, razor blades, needles, fish hooks, salt, etc. in exchange to the value of one penny per pound weight of produce. This mission barter enabled the Yega to obtain small useful items with no loss of time, for even though prices at the Popondetta market were about three times higher, to get there required about half a day's walk in each direction carrying the produce.

ii. The marketing of agricultural and marine products and handicrafts. Yega participation in the Popondetta market held

Changes in the Yega settlement pattern after 1960

361 178 Influenced by rapid changes in land use, the location of Yega residences radically altered after 1950. Figs 1, 2 and 3[A] illustrate the evolution of settlement up till 1950. In 1950 the Yega lived in small villages spread along four miles of coastline. In [166] 1952-3 occurred the major amalgamation of dwellings into Beporo village already mentioned (p. 29). Members of all clans took part in this move. Although none of the other villages went out of existence at this time, all diminished in size while Beporo grew 161 162 rapidly. Table 4 shows the estimated distribution of population

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 42]

Table 4

361 162 103 161 Distribution of total Yega population by villages in 1960, 1962, and 1964

	Village name	1960 estimated	1962 November	1964 July
A.	Coastal			
	Surilai	60	52	61
	Niniyanda	44	9	5
	Kanaunje	15	17	11
	Basabuga	17	19	14
	Tarebosusu	7	10	Nil
	Banumo	14	8	10
	Gombe	19	15	19
	Siumbago	9	13	Nil
	Beporo	335	275	164
	Gona Mission	7	6	18
	Subtotal	527	424	302
B.	Inland			
	Gatara	6	6	6
	Konje	Nil	6	97
	Otobejare	Nil	8	13
	Imangada	Nil	3	8
	Mumburada	Nil	17	47
	Ononda (D.A.S.F.)*	Nil	5	1
	Ononda	Nil	41	66
	Binjapada	Nil	51	61
	Jamberoda	Nil	Nil	15
	Subtotal	6	137	314
	Total	533	561	616

* Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries indicated that these informants had made no attempt to build houses of their own but were using the facilities available at the D.A.S.F. Ononda settlement.

A. [For figs. 1, 2, & 3, see Category 361, p. 41--Analyst]

161 162 in 1960[1] compared with the distributions determined by personal interview in November 1962 and July 1964.

361 166 242 245 Table 4 and Figs 4 and 5 illustrate the movement of people away from the coastal villages and the rapid increase in number and size of inland villages which followed the implementation of the Yega Scheme in mid-1960. The men interviewed gave two main reasons for this move inland. The men who were allocated a cocoa block moved so that they would be closer to this new field of work; those who were not allocated blocks moved in order to remain near to their relatives.

361 166 The movement inland began immediately after the start of clearing the cocoa blocks. In July 1960 a young unmarried man of Seseko clan moved from Beporo and took up residence in the D.A.S.F. settlement. He was soon followed by others from Seseko clan, many of them from Kanaunje and Niniyanda villages. These villages are furthest from the cocoa blocks and, being backed by swamps, have more difficult routes of access than other Yega villages. Convenient village sites were available for the newcomers on two patches of grassland known as Ononda and Binjapada. Seseko clan claimed (423) hunting rights to Binjapada and a Seseko lineage claimed cultivation rights to Ononda which had been used by Seseko members as a food garden some years previously. There was therefore no dispute over building sites. Even when some members of clans other than Seseko desired to move from the coast in 1962-3, they were allocated building sites on Seseko land close to the houses of Seseko members. The growth of Binjapada and Ononda villages is shown in Table 5.

The result of the migration inland was the development of a 'ribbon' pattern of settlement along the Gona-Popondetta road (Fig.5). Binjapada was likewise a ribbon pattern on a side road. The houses in Binjapada were much farther apart than in the coastal villages. This is because the house sites were located close to cocoa blocks (Fig.6).

A development which might have far-reaching effects upon the future Yega settlement pattern was the attempt by several holders of cocoa blocks to locate their dwellings upon the projected extensions to their blocks (Fig.6). As early as November 1962 the holder of block 16 had moved his home from Beporo village to a site on Binjapada grassland which he calculated would be the extension of his block (see Fig.6). By July 1964 his example had been

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 43]

A, B, [For Figs. 5 & 6, see Category 361, pp. 45-46--Analyst]

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[1] Calculated from the census taken by the author in 1964. Some degree of error is possible because of the movement of paid employees and their families.

262 The principal food at Ombi-Tara is taro, while other foods of importance include sweet potatoes, yams, bananas and plantain, edible pit-pit (saccharum edule) and a wide variety of leaves and bush cabbages. Bread-fruit, pandanus, betelnuts, coconuts, pine-
[224] apple, pawpaw, watermelon and sugar cane are also eaten. The main sources of animal protein are provided by wild pigs, birds, flying foxes and the occasional cuscus. These add variety but provide
231 comparatively little food. The keeping of domestic pigs in vil-
657 lages has been outlawed for health reasons by the Ilimo Local Government Council which serves Ombi-Tara, but one old man, a former clan leader, kept three pigs under his house.

342 Readily available natural vegetation provides housing materials. Timber is used for the framework and walls, blackpalm or timber for the floor, and thatched sago leaves for the roof. Houses have an average life of about four years.

162 The population of Ombi-Tara by clan and location is presented in Table 8.

Table 8

Resident population of Ombi-Tara by clan and location, January 1966

Clan	Ombi			Tara			Blocks			Total		
	M*	F*	C*	M	F	C	M	F	C	M	F	C
Mumu	20	20	56	1	1	2	6	7	13	27	28	71
Kuei	3	3	7	11	8	20	-	-	-	14	11	27
Total	23	23	63	12	9	22	6	7	13	41	39	98

M* Adult males. F* Adult females. C* Children.

[166] [167] [464] Note. In addition there were seven Ombi men and six Tara men absent from the area working for wages, that is, roughly one man away for every three remaining at home.

134 the <u>numa</u> of Sivepa, but it is far shallower, less well drained and
[241] covered with kunai grass (predominantly imperata sp.). It is not used for gardens because of the difficulty of freeing the ground from grass roots. (ii) the Girua Association: coarse textured, recent riverine deposits lying beside the Sambogo and Girua Rivers. This soil, called <u>tunona</u> is the favourite gardening land. (iii) the Warisota Association: recent, well drained medium textured clay loams, becoming fine textured with depth and found on the hydrographers foothills. They are grey to grey brown, and are called hora or <u>hohori</u>. They are not favoured (though occasionally used) for gardens, as they tend to dry out during the dry season, which is much longer and dryer than at Sivepa. The other two soil types are too stony or sandy to be used for anything except foraging and hunting.

162 There is a striking difference in population density between
161 the two districts. Sivepa, with a population of 137, occupies and owns about 0.75 square miles of land, an average of about 180 persons per square mile. We may compare this with Inonda, with a population of 45 and about four square miles of land--an average of 11 persons per square mile. Sivepa is not at all untypical for the Saibo Census Division in which it is located; this is the division which includes the Mount Lamington foothills as well as some sparsely populated areas in the vicinity. Average population density in this division is 75, with local densities of 200 and over "not at all rare" (Rimoldi, 1966: 4). Inonda also has a population density characteristic of the census division in which it is located; the Buna Division is occupied by about eight persons per square mile (see Table 6).

161 Rimoldi's analysis shows that the Sivepa population density
311 is close to the upper limit the land can sustain with present technology and social organisation. The sample he chose for study (50 persons of the Jegase and Timunu clans) happened to have less land than the average, namely a total of 138 acres. He showed that of this area, 110 acres are required to maintain present standards of subsistence agriculture (1966: 20-21). This leaves hardly any margin for land unsuitable for cultivation and for unequal distribution of land as between families. It also makes little provision for a balance of forest land which must be preserved, as forest resources are essential for the maintaining of the Orokaiva economy. It is true that the other major Sivepa clan (Saho) has greater land resources, and that the Saho people allow the others to use forest trees from their land for building and other purposes. Nonetheless, land resources are almost as tight as they can be.

In contrast, Inonda has plenty of room. When Seva Village joined Inonda after the eruption, there was plenty of garden land for everybody. Crocombe and Hogbin claim that 580 acres may be classed as good garden land, whereas the present level of subsistence gardening can be maintained with 127 acres (1963: 10).

628 guests, it appears that they were friendly but rather formal. As
574 will be shown later, all arrangements in connection with Ilimo
731 camp were made between the government and the Ilimo people; the
Orokaiva had no forms of organisation, in 1951, through which the
[659] refugees could have negotiated directly with Ilimo. The hosts
generously supplied food, grew extra food in special plots,
provided abundant building material from their land, and a site
for the camp and helped with the preparation of the camp while
the evacuees still lived at Wairopa, in return for which the
government made various gifts which Ilimo evidently regarded as
adequate payment. At no point, during the existence of the camp,
did the refugees develop an organisation which dealt directly with
the Ilimo people. Thus, the only contact between hosts and guests
was on a social level.

The camp was built at some little distance from the village.
Refugees who had friends and relations in Ilimo used to go over to
the village and visit them. There was for instance, at the time
of the eruption, one Sivepe man resident at Ilimo; thus some Sivepe
people paid visits to the village. There was an Easter celebration
at the camp to which the village people came. When the camp broke
up, the government gave a feast to the Ilimo people, on behalf of
the evacuees, in the usual Orokaiva style.

121 If we wish to answer the question to what extent contact
between different "tribal" groups (or distant groups) of Orokaiva
has become more intensive since the eruption, we cannot confine
ourselves to contacts occurring in villages such as Sivepe or
Ilimo. Here the pattern suggested in the previous pages has hardly
[178] changed. The changes have occurred by the development of new
organisations (to which I shall refer later) through labour migration
and through urban development.

464 As I am at present discussing only unorganised contacts
166 between villagers, I can give only one clear instance of changing
633 attitudes and this is in Popondetta itself. Popondetta, the new
administrative centre of the Northern District, has about 4,000
inhabitants, almost all Orokaiva; among its inhabitants all parts
● [162] of the Northern District are represented, including Sivepe. The
Sivepe people had many relatives there, mostly hailing from the
Sasembata district, and employed in some regular job in the town.
These jobs are partly in personal service to Europeans, but also
in light industry, the retail trade, public works and public service,
and go far beyond the little employment that was available in pre-
eruption Higaturu (with a population which, judging from aerial
photographs, can hardly have exceeded that of a large village).
484 Popondetta is preeminently the place where intelligent men from
521 various villages can gather informally to discuss political and other
633 public questions, and develop a wider interpretation of the situation
of the Orokaiva which is learnt by the men from the villages when
they pay occasional visits to Popondetta. The town generates a new

Inonda people. They built a da of their own at a very short distance from Inonda; both these da were very close to the airstrip and abandoned now. Although these two da were less than a hundred yards apart, they were still two socially distinct units. It sometimes happens, as in the case of Hohovita, to which I shall return, that two such contiguous villages are later joined together into a single one, but this is a deliberate act, involving the slashing down of the intervening brushwood and, ideally, also the removal of houses which would run through the centre of the combined village. If Sewa people had taken up permanent residence in Inonda, such fusion would have occurred, no doubt, but instead they went back to their own land.

Sivepe, with its present composition, goes back in time no further than about 1948 when the village Pamba was built, combining an older Sive and a now defunct village Pusahambo. The census list current at the time of the eruption still shows the population of the two villages separately, though in fact they had already fused. (Sive 58, Pusahambo 41) I do not know how many residential units there were then, but in Old Sivepe, in 1962, 23 were counted, plus one belonging to the anthropologist. At that time, the population was 120. When I arrived in Sivepe, the new village was only partly completed. Some people lived in new houses; some had not yet built or finished their new houses, but had shifted their old houses from the old to the new village. Others again were still domiciled in the old village, but had declared their intention to start building in the new one "soon." At the time of my arrival, six of the houses in the old village were still inhabited; nine months later, this number had dropped to three, two of the houses being inhabited by widows living alone, while the head of the sole remaining family had almost completed his house in the new village. At the time of my arrival, a good number of the village pigs were still being kept in the old village (these animals being rigorously barred from the new one) but by the end of my stay, these pigs had all gone to the bush. New Sivepe, at that time, had 25 dwelling units, plus the one rapidly nearing completion. The total number of dwelling units included in the study (28) accommodated 137 people. There was occasional discussion of further increments in the population, as families from Garombi were considering moving in and would have been welcomed.

At no time since the eruption did Sivepe exhibit rigorously the village plan that was regarded as ideal. In Old Sivepe 18 out of 23 houses were arranged around the araha in standard fashion, while another five houses had been built outside the village proper, along the old jeep road, separated from the rest of the village by a gully. The land on which Old Sivepe was built was lent by three individuals from different kinship groups; residents chose their house site irrespective of their possible ownership of land on the village site. On the other hand, the five houses built outside the village proper were all on land owned by the residents. Though some of these houses were as much as four chains away from the village proper, they were still

CHAPTER II: Socio-Economic Factors

Section 1: Age, Sex and Marital Status

121 In this chapter, the study of internal variations will be continued, by a consideration of the human resources available to the villages and their economic productivity. A statistical analysis of
162 the population by age, sex and marital status (see Table 16) shows that
464 the labour force lacks a proportionate number of young men in early
adulthood; the number of men in the vigour of life is somewhat smaller,
166 in Sivepa, than the number of women. The reason for this change is
167 that young men leave the village to earn money elsewhere. They often
464 do this before marriage, so that the bachelors' houses tend to be
occupied by a much smaller number than formerly; but after they are
583 married they usually do not at once settle down in the village. It is unusual nowadays for a brideprice to be paid in full at the time of the wedding. Usually this payment is delayed; the young husband goes out to work for it and after one or two years he sends back money and it is paid. At the one brideprice payment I observed in Sivepa, the groom was not even present. He was at his job in Port Moresby and the role of groom was taken over by another man from the same lineage--a married man with six children, as it happened, who duly cut the firewood and carried the water required for the entertainment of his
[484] affines. Even after the bridewealth is paid, then, the husband continues to work at his job, rarely seeing his wife as travel is expensive and leave infrequently granted.

Because of these infrequent visits, young wives have few
593 children, but they receive regular gifts of money from their husband.
592 Eventually, the husband returns home; it is hard to say just what makes him decide. Before the age of 30 he usually starts to establish a family, and he then stays home continuously, to look after his garden
[469] and his coffee. He may occasionally go back to town for a few months to earn money, but judging by the few examples I saw, he is not always successful at finding a job and even if he does so, he takes an early opportunity or uses an early excuse, to return home, carrying home some presents for his family and perhaps a little money. The family does not seem to be too troubled about the loss of earnings that result from his return. Some men manage to find accommodation for their families in town, in which case they all migrate.

This generalised picture needs qualifying. There were six Sivepa women (out of nine married women with absent husbands) who received regular gifts; three of these women were living in the household of a single man while another family head had under his control two

A [See Cat. 116, pp. 221-222--Analyst]

Section 2: Physical Environment

131 The present territory of Hohorita stretches from near Mount
133 Lamington (an elevation about equal to that of Sivepa) down to Double Crossing, which is about 600 feet above sea level. Rainfall at the top of the territory may be close to that of Sivepa, but further down
132 it decreases--though I doubt whether it would fall much below 150 inches per year anywhere on Sangara territory. The land yielded much the same
361 wild and cultivated crops as in Sivepa. Before the eruption, the concentration of population was entirely at the higher reaches of this territory, while the lower parts were used for hunting and other subsidiary activities. Those who survived the eruption because they were away from their villages were often hunting on this lower land. Today, the pattern of occupation has shifted. The lower part of the territory, near the new villages, is intensively used while the more elevated land is used a little less and often for coffee rather than subsistence crops.

731 The eruption has made minor changes to land contours: due to the floods, the watershed of the Ambogo River was gouged out forming a number of pools of stagnant water which formed a breeding ground for mosquitoes and leeches. These pests are blamed on the eruption by the local people. On the credit side, certain varieties of bananas and pumpkins, planted before the eruption, had the opportunity to grow wild during the year the land was unoccupied and are now thought of as having been brought to the district by the eruption.

162 The total Sangara population today would be about 472--of which
350 live in Hohorita and the rest in the three other villages. The
161 total land holdings of this population extend over 3.5 square miles--an average of about 135 per square mile. This places the Sangara in a somewhat superior economic position to Sivepa, which has to support at least 180 persons per square mile on land of the same quality. It must be remembered that prior to the eruption, the Sangara population was six times as large as it is today--so that Sangara must have suffered a chronic land shortage. All the neighbours of the Sangara are agreed that they were very warlike and dangerous enemies; they probably were in frequent need of extra gardening land. Today, they have enough land not only for subsistence gardening but also for a somewhat larger cash-cropping programme than is generally found in the Sasembata district.

621 The present site of Hohorita (see Map XIV)[A] developed in several
361 stages. First the Horeopa clan, which had the greatest number of survivors and therefore achieved dominance, shifted to the front part of Hohorita village in 1956. The mission station was established next to the village, separated from the village by a small stream. By 1958, all the Horeopa were settled in houses in the new village, together with the Oripe clan whom they had asked to join them while all the other inhabitants of Irihambo had shifted to the new mission

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 13--Analyst]

TABLE 1

CASUALTIES OF THE MOUNT LAMINGTON DISASTER

731 (Source: Department of District Administration, Popondetta, file 7.3.2)

[162] Total residential population, "Sangara" group (2195 - 195) 1964

Known East Side "Ifainembo" casualties	480
Wairope Camp, list of reported casualties	92
Commonwealth Royal Territorial Service, casualty list	90
Prisoners held at Higaturu	16
Royal Papuan Constabulary and dependents IHC	80
Andemba dead (ex Andemba, other villages and Higaturu)	800
Known Isivita dead	14
Est. dead Sangara mission station personnel	100
	3636
Less: Known Sangara survivors	170
Total Estimated Dead	3466

TABLE 2

162

ADULT POPULATION OF MULTI-CLAN VILLAGES
IN THE SAIHO CENSUS DIVISION, 1966

According to census records in the Department of District Administration, Popondetta. Adult = over 16 approximately.

Village Name	Male	Female
Agenahambo	49	64
Awala	101	136
Caroubi	76	56
Hamburata	55	36
Hoborita	193	155
Isoge	66	55
Kendata	196	158
Kiorota	225	204
Mamuni	138	125
Sasembata	77	70
Singi	70	66
Sivepe	69	55
Torogota	95	51
Total adult population of division	2573	2065

Notes:

1. The total population of the division, including children, was 8,211.

2. Many persons normally resident in hamlets attended the census enumerations in the main villages, which were not as populous as these figures might suggest. My own data for Sivepe adults show 28 males, 35 females.

TABLE 6

NORTHERN DISTRICT: POPULATION 1966 211

162

Source: Department of District Administration, Popondetta

POPONDETTA SUB DISTRICT			
AFORE			
Musa	2509		
Managalase	5550	... 8059	
IOMA			
Aiga	2384		
Binandere	3693		
Waria	1717	... 7794	
POPONDETTA			
North Coast	4660		
Sohe - Popondetta ...	3588		
Popondetta	3533		
Oro Bay	5181		
Saiho	8211	... 25173	
TOWN			
Locals	900 (approx)		
Europeans	300		
RURAL			
Locals	800 (approx)		
Europeans	260	... 2260	
TOTAL			43,286
TUFI SUB DISTRICT			
Cape Nelson	3642		
Collingwood Bay ...	2936		
Dyke Ackland Bay ...	1724		
Europeans	20	... 8322	
KOKODA SUB DISTRICT			
Kokoda	2018		
Bujara	3193		
Wawonga	1227		
Europeans	30	... 6470	
TOTAL			58,078

9: Kearney P-5 (1963) 1966 0023 Orokaiva 0023

Table 1

The samples and agricultural systems

Village or group	Approximate population	Tribe	Type of terrain	Type of land tenure	Other research workers	Comments
Inonda	43	Sangara	inland plain	Higaturu Council scheme (low population density)	Crocombe and Hogbin	Supplemented by 10 from Hohota
Beporo (Gona)	500	Notu	coastal plain	Spontaneous resettlement	Dakeyne	
Sivepa	120	Sangara	inland hilly	Higaturu Council scheme (high population density)	Rimoldi	Supplemented by 3 from Pareko
Ex-service-men settlers	150	various	inland plain	Individual proprietorship (with government loans for development)	Cheetham	From Isavene, Sangara and Girua
Plantation labourers	?	various	-	European plantations	Howlett	From Awala, Kagana and Mayoh
Ongoho	55	Asigi	inland plain	Communal tenure of cash crop land	Crocombe	
Borugasusu	180	Aiga	riverine	Traditional tenure	Rimoldi	

162
125
423
133
177

TABLE 16

POPULATION BY AGE, SEX, MARITAL STATUS AND CLAN

(a) Comparison Between Inonda and Sivepa, 1951 and 1966

	Inonda		Sivepa				
	1966	1951	1966				1951
			Sorovi	Seho	Jegase	Total	
Male Adults (Total)	10	5	6	8	14	28	15
Widowers	2		1	-	2	3	
Married, residing with wife	7		5	7	8	20	
Single	1		-	1	4	5	
Female Adults	10	8	5	11	18	34	25
Widows	2		-	1	3	4	
Married, residing with husband	7		5	7	8	20	
Single or living without husband	1		-	3	7	10	
Children	22	35	15	27	33	75	59
TOTAL	42	48	26	46		137	99

(b) Sivepa male adults, by clans and age groups

Age Groups	Sorovi	Seho	Jegase	Total
16 - 25	-	1	3	4
26 - 35	2	-	2	4

TABLE 16
(Continued)

Age Groups (Continued)	Sorovi	Seho	Jegase	Total
36 - 45	2	2	4	8
46 - 55	1	5	1	7
Over 55	1	-	4	5
TOTAL	6	8	14	28

Note: For the purpose of this table, I have included entire households with the clan of the household heads. The breakdown of female population into clans must be understood as meaning: "Attached to a household of Sorovi, Seho or Jegase clan.: